

THE COMMONWEAL

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THE INNER CONFLICT

IN HIS recent denunciation of wheat speculators who make use of that bitterly contested device known as "short selling," President Hoover said: "If these gentlemen have that sense of patriotism which outruns immediate profit, they will close up these transactions and desist from their manipulations." Without attempting to decide the very debatable ethics of grain, or other forms of, speculation, we are of the opinion that the President's words in this instance very clearly indicate the inner and deciding factor not only of speculation but also of the even greater and graver problems with which the world is struggling, the most acute for the moment being the financial crisis in Germany. If, for example, patriotism had been, or could be, the principle motive animating speculators in food-stuff or other things, playing the market—as a gambler would play roulette—without any consideration of the possible evil results, would be done away with more effectually than by any legislation. But such patriotism does not prevail in the world of speculation.

Some years ago, France, taking realistic action on the basis of that sad fact, passed a law to the effect that those conspiring to control the cost of bread in that country would on conviction be sent to jail for life,

and would spend that life in hard labor. Mr. Brisbane recalls, in this connection, that short selling of wheat was stopped in France, and that French farmers now receive for French-grown wheat a dollar and a half a bushel, "while Kansas farmers get about thirty cents, at the farm." But neither in France or elsewhere do such laws really control all such problems, unless or until there is a general and controlling belief in the justice as well as the mere expediency of the laws. In other words, patriotism is rooted in ethical principles, when it is real devotion and loyalty to the common good of any one nation.

But as Nurse Cavell said before her execution in Belgium for actions which she considered to be purely patriotic, but which Germany judged to be contrary to the military laws regulating espionage, "Patriotism is not enough." The speculators, or the straightforward business man, or the legislators of one country, animated by ardent patriotism (or what they consider to be such), may and often do carry out operations, or pass laws, intended to benefit their own country, and thereby create or aggravate conditions which produce misery and unhappiness for other countries. The tariff laws furnish an example of this.

We can see this unhappy combination of patriotism at issue with other great human interests at work in its most perilous and potentially destructive way in the present German crisis. As we write, the meeting of the international bankers is in session at Basel, Switzerland. Berlin, London, Paris, Washington, Rome and other world capitals are disturbed, anxious, even alarmed, as the governments, forced to deal with other interests than strictly economic ones, observe the masters of finance gathered to deal as best they may with a situation which is acutely economic but which is so complicated by political issues as to be practically insoluble without reference to other things than the purely financial elements. France in substance says: "Yes, we are ready, and willing, to help save and preserve the economic stability of Germany—but on condition that Germany stop spending money on warships, and give up the plan for commercial union with Austria—because such actions are a menace to France's security." And Germany in substance replies: "We cannot accept from France conditions which humiliate or lower the national standing of our people." It is patriotism again—or at any rate that high and almost inflamed sense of nationalism which threatens to usurp a reasonable, an ethical, love and devotion to the homeland, which is true patriotism. And meanwhile, as the two main figures in a drama which concerns not them alone, but all the world as well, stand face to face, the other nations comment angrily or despondently, through their press, or their political leaders, and the strain and tension of the desperate dilemma grows more acute.

And Soviet Russia remarks that of course this is only what should be expected from capitalistic countries who lack a unifying philosophy. It is also what the Church has told the world, over and over again. Unless patriotism, and prosperity, and pride, and success are subordinated to the common good of all humanity, disorder and disaster in social affairs are inevitable.

But is there, then, no hope? Of course there is. To think otherwise would be to despair—and that, as the Church tells us, is well nigh the worst of sins. Under all the strains and conflicts of today, a spirit of good-will, of active concern in the common welfare of humanity, is actively at work. The great meeting in London, headed by the leaders of the three main parties, to prepare a common atmosphere of good-will in preparation for the disarmament conference, is a striking proof of the power of this spirit. Its manifestations are less sensational than the manifestations of the spirits of strife and disorder; but it can prevail—and it will, if we but will it so.

Economic "laws," or "cycles of depression," should be repudiated as delusions. Such terms deny free will. Economic and political movements are controllable by man because man is not a mere machine in a world of mechanistic determinism. To teach and to exemplify the truth that man is a free agent is the great social mission of Catholic Action.

WEEK BY WEEK

SIGNED but not yet completely delivered, the Hoover plan may already lay claim to a very considerable aftermath. Inside Germany it became clear that the accumulated effects of the depression and the delays incident to the two weeks of discussion between France and the United States had produced a credit shortage of really formidable dimensions. Half a billion dollars in short-term credits and foreign exchange had to be paid back during June, and a run on the Reichsbank soon exhausted a fresh loan of \$150,000,000 extended by foreign banks. The national currency was left, as a result, without surplus coverage, and the exodus of capital could apparently not be halted. One great bank—the "Danat"—closed its doors, though this action was declared to have been impelled to a considerable extent by the crash of industries in which the bank was interested. Measures of almost epic proportions were adopted by Germany to weather the tide. On July 7, one thousand business leaders placed a fund of \$119,000,000 at the disposal of the Gold Discount Bank. The government has put into effect a series of mandates designed to halt the outflow of capital and to curb speculation. Every effort has been made to secure additional credits from abroad, in an attempt to utilize the debt postponements for remedying the anaemia which twelve exhausted years and a startling depression have inflicted on German finance. Some aspects of the situation are so intangible that the most one feels permitted to think is this: the Hoover plan was so sane an action that other minor steps, necessary to its full effectiveness, will in all human probability be taken.

WHETHER we are now marching energetically ahead toward better times is an open question. The weary work involved in putting through one clearly necessary measure for international sanitation has discouraged a good many people, some of whom feel that Europe is incorrigible and that the most incorrigible part of it is always the one which happens to be on top. Others, however—and we think their number is increasing—believe that if the United States can put through one good deal it may expect to succeed with several more. Industrial leaders have, as a rule, spoken optimistically of world business and the future diplomatic conduct of the United States. Bankers have, on the whole, applauded vigorously. The oratory of statesmanship has been somewhat incoherent. Senator Borah thinks that wholesale debt cancellation would saddle heavy additional burdens on American taxpayers and give them nothing very specific in return. "How can Europe return to the avocations of peace," he asked, "so long as the European mind is vexed with fear and suspicion and so long as the spirit of the victor obtains in one part and the humiliation of

the vanquished in the other?" One wishes he had thought a little more of remedial action for this disease and a little less of the taxpayers, since it is becoming pretty obvious that Germany will not pay off the debts anyhow. Senator Harrison, on the other hand, thinks the next step is a revised tariff. Needless to say, the senator's eagerness is somewhat more than balanced by a notable reluctance on the part of several of his senatorial peers. At any rate, the ball has been enjoying a prolonged roll.

OUR OTHER troubles come in cycles, but the groans of the American taxpayer are unceasing. During the past forty years, every round made by the assessor has meant an additional levy for purposes which the individual could neither visualize as concrete improvements nor adjudge as payments for service. Meanwhile the vast sums thus expended modified rents, farm profits, realty values, city progress. What looks like a simple matter of collecting another dollar or so turns out to be a ferment of incalculable strength in the general civic life. Speaking at Charlottesville, Virginia, on this subject, Governor Roosevelt of New York offered one of the best general analyses of the problem yet made. Observing that the total cost of government in the United States averages between twelve and thirteen billion dollars annually, he observed that half of this revenue is divided between federal and state administrations, while the other half goes to local government in county, city, town and district. This last half has, says the governor, increased at an astonishing rate. "In 1890 local government in the entire nation cost \$487,000,000. In 1927, the last year for which complete figures are available, the government of lesser units within states cost \$6,454,000,000." The per capita levy was more than seven times as heavy in 1927 as it was in 1890. What these figures mean can readily be understood by those who follow the governor's comment on what has happened in various New York localities.

QUITE curiously, it has proved difficult to reform those aspects of local government in large measure responsible for increasing costs. The popular tendency seems to be shifting blame higher up, and viewing every fresh tax as a blow from Washington or the state capitol. Some change is apparent, notably in the Indiana Plan which enables the taxpayers to appeal to a state tax commission. But, as Mr. Roosevelt demonstrated from two efforts initiated by himself in New York, legislators are averse to touching a problem so deeply rooted in the affairs of their immediate constituencies. Improvement can only follow a growing public awareness of where the trouble really lies. Toward such awareness the governor looks with optimism: "If you will permit me to be conservatively prophetic, I foresee in all the states of the union in coming years a progressively strengthening movement for reform of

the local governmental scheme. It has already, I believe, been much too long delayed and this fact has cost us many an unnecessary dollar in taxation, and on the other hand has deprived us of improvements and services in the way of better protection of our lives and property and of better facilities for orderly, happy living that we might otherwise have had for the same expenditure." The last point is, of course, the heart of the matter. No sane municipality or county wishes to go without necessary improvements, but there is hardly one which ought to be contented with an outmoded, overmanned mechanism for bringing those improvements about.

THERE were some sad lessons to be learned from the recent report dealing with juvenile offenders in federal penal institutions, which Dr. Miriam Van Waters, consultant of the Harvard Law School crime survey, prepared for the Wickersham Committee. In the last half of 1930, 2,243 such offenders were confined for acts which, often by mere technical accident, made them liable under federal law. This is one consideration which the report presents to the thoughtful student. As the *New York Times* points out in a careful analysis, what are mainly involved are the three federal statutes on immigration, prohibition and automobile thefts across state borders: and the last (passed in 1919) was a plain surrender of a local and state duty which was proving difficult, to federal agencies; with the estimated result that "as much as 10 percent of the time and effort of the Department of Justice is spent in an attempt to enforce this single statute."

AND when we pass from this general consequence of the unhealthy relaxation of state responsibility and authority, what has been its effect on these young prisoners, all under eighteen? In state institutions, the juvenile delinquent is given his chance, at least in theory; that is the whole purpose of reformatories and probation officers. But the federal government, as the report points out, "is not equipped to serve as a guardian for the delinquent child." The discipline, the physical surroundings and the companionship all are unsuited to do anything but harden or corrupt him or her. In some cases, indeed—those, for instance, in which a savage rigorousness prevails, or those which "present a situation of filth and misery impossible to convey"—the conditions would seem to be unjustifiable regardless of the age or record of the criminals. Let us hope that the publicity which has been given the report will have a sanative result all around. It should effect at least the instant transfer of these children; it will, we trust, bring about a clean-up of the more noisome of the prisons. Of course it will not, of itself, halt the bad business of centralization, though its incidental demonstration of how that policy works should constitute a graphic warning against it.

THE VALUE of the questionnaire system of arriving at approximations of truth or fact would, if itself subjected to a questionnaire sent to a large list of persons competent to comment on it, undoubtedly be demonstrated to be very uncertain. Among the brisk gentlemen of the professional advertising confraternity, it is almost axiomatic that by the order and framing of questions, the answers desired can be as readily forced as an agile magician can force a card on an unsuspecting accomplice asked to "pick any card at random." Whether the earnest professor or student employing the method can escape an unintentional influence on the answers, and whether the answers themselves are not an expression of mental processes not revealed by the answerer, must probably wait some time yet for final demonstration. With these perhaps overcareful reservations, we may then express our interest in the psychological test attempting to analyze individual happiness conducted by Dr. Randolph C. Sailer, research worker at Teachers' College, Columbia University, in a report issued by the Columbia Bureau of Publications. Five hundred men ranging from seventeen to thirty-five years of age, answered Dr. Sailer's questionnaire. Most of the results were of that obvious character that the behaviorists like to arrive at by involved and peculiar experiments, such as that good health contributes to happiness, while worry, ill-health and sex difficulties contribute to unhappiness. One result of which we, together with several millions throughout the centuries, were already convinced, though we concede many others are not, showed that a preponderance of the unhappy considered religious worship unnecessary, while, as the doctor concludes, "the religious have been seen to be more happy."

THE PERENNIAL youthfulness of the Church that yet extends without interruption back to the beginning of Christendom, to Christ and His Apostles, and its catholicity which carries His kingdom into all phases of contemporary life, as Christ Himself was in daily association with people and the practical matters of everyday occurrence, is forcibly recalled to us in paying tribute to the memory of Father James F. Cronin, C.S.P., former pastor of New York's famous Paulist Church, and the first director of the Paulist Radio Station WLWL. His recent death is an occasion of sorrow to the thousands who knew him; at the same time we remember that the day the Church celebrates of her especially faithful sons and daughters is the day of their entrance into eternal life. Those who knew Father Cronin through his radio work, when after the installation of the station under his immediate supervision, for four years he acted as station announcer, would as a matter of fact number in the thousands. They inevitably had some intimation and appreciation of his character so affectionately esteemed by those who knew him personally in the twenty-four

years of his priesthood as a parish priest, missionary, teacher, and superior of the Paulist community in New York City.

WE DO not say that, to us, the hero of the Post-Gatty flight was Mr. Florence Hall, its backer. The glory of those two men, Wiley Post, the super-pilot, and Harold Gatty, the all but incredible navigator, who have refreshed the world's wonder at flying, as if flying were a new thing, is secure. But we do feel that a good deal of the authentically American atmosphere that has surrounded their splendid adventure of shortening the girdle of the orbis terrarum, came from Mr. Hall. He reads like something plagiarized from Henry James: from one of those parts of James wherein the great expatriate almost seems to be doing penance for leaving these shores by his rich appreciation of certain types indigenous to them—types combining the sterling with the naive. There is Mr. Hall's own romantic soda-jerker-to-oil-millionaire history; his determination to help his gifted young employee, "that boy Wiley," for whom he had an affectionate and most generous admiration, to attain his objective; his naming the plane after his daughter "so that the whole world might have a chance to honor her"; even the name itself, the Winnie Mae, as innocent a bit of provincial finery, surely, as the name Daisy Miller. There is, too, Mr. Hall's dazed, boyish excitement when the great feat was performed; his modest refusal to share the ensuing spotlight, or have anything to do with the prospective rewards. All this is in America's finest tradition of simple, homespun integrity. And for us the dramatic climax of the story came, not when Post set down the plane in a perfect three-point landing after eight days, fifteen hours and fifty-one minutes of flight, but when Mr. Hall tremblingly buttonholed a reporter to say: "Let me tell you something—that boy knows how to fly."

THE SENSE of assurance that, perhaps irrationally but very definitely, comes with athletic supremacy, has been ours often enough for us to understand it in another nation. It is now being felt, in considerable measure, by Germany. At about the time that one of her fraüleins walked off with the women's title at Wimbledon, that black-avised young Thor, Max Schmeling, made good his claim to the world's ranking professional title, that of heavyweight champion. He had won it technically on a foul a year ago, but it was not generally conceded to belong to him until he beat William Stribling in Cleveland the other day. The tennis victory was, apparently, something of an upset, and may not betoken an enduring prowess in that field; but Herr Schmeling's performance gives promise that he will hold the prestige of his present position for years to come. That that prestige is very real among the most diverse classes of people, it would

be mere affectation to deny. Nor would there be anything gained by denying it. Today prize-fighting is, or may be, perfectly reputable. That was one of Mr. Tunney's services to it, in exchange for the fortune it gave him. Mr. Tunney's successor may, if he chooses, become a symbol to the youth of all countries of self-discipline, skill and strength. He may address boys' schools on clean living, or open athletic fields, or write articles for the best magazines. That is how the tradition runs with us, and that is probably how Herr Schmeling and Germany will work it out between themselves. He was much criticized there last year for accepting the title on a foul, but his Cleveland victory has changed the tune of the German press. He is now "a brilliant exemplar of Germany's unconquerable energies"; which being so, all the rest should follow. It will be logical enough in his case, from what we can gather. He seems an admirable young fellow, quiet, intelligent and tireless. To a phenomenal stamina he adds that determination to "make" his luck which convinces one that he deserves it.

CATHOLIC HOSPITALS

TO THE worker often hedged by immediate circumstances, as well as to the bystander, we believe a comprehensive look at Catholic care for the sick would be interesting. We all know in a general way of the accomplishments of the Sisters and the orders in works of corporal mercy—though few probably have more than a formal and rather remote idea of the extent and heroic realities of this work. Some may know that Catholics conduct well over half of all denominational hospitals in the United States, which embraces actually 74.8 percent of the total number of beds available in such hospitals, and that the Sisters of Charity perform the duty of nurses, dietitians and laboratorians for the 300 lepers in the leprosarium at Carville, Louisiana, for which work they receive a compensation from the state of \$100 per year.

Still fewer probably were aware of information for which we are indebted to the interdenominational publication, "The Interchurch World Movement." This is that the Catholic Church has hospital beds enough to accommodate "everyone of its membership who is sick and an additional 6 percent of the total non-Catholic population of the United States . . . the Protestant churches of the United States provide hospital beds for only 43 percent of their membership." We must make acknowledgement for this quotation to the "Campaigners for Christ Handbook," by David Goldstein, which under the imprimatur of Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, has recently in that city been published by Thomas J. Flynn and Company. And in peroration, it is pleasant to note something that was unknown to anyone until it was reported at the recent meeting of the Catholic Hospital Association: namely, that 51 percent of the patients in Catholic hospitals in 1930 were non-Catholics.

This edifying practical example of Good Samaritanism is taken from "Hospital Progress," the official journal of the association, and is embodied in the presidential address of the Reverend Alphonse M. Schwitalla, S.J. It was an incidental result of an investigation undertaken to find out the adequacy of religious vocations in Catholic institutions. A questionnaire was directed to all the member institutions in the United States and Canada, and two-thirds replied. In the year under observation, the 311 hospitals reporting had on record that 402,851 non-Catholic patients were treated by them. For this splendid execution of God's work, we must indeed respect not only the clergy and the Sisters, but also the generosity of those practical Catholics who, having the means, discharged their stewardship in the spirit of Pope Leo XIII's and Pope Pius XI's encyclical instructions on the responsibilities of possessing wealth.

In regard to the selfless devotion of the Sisters, the spiritual value of it is of course inestimable by any mundane methods; an interesting intimation of its economic value, however, was given by the survey. Each Sister, who was also a graduate nurse, annually took care of 282 patients. This was further figured out to mean that a Sister nurse takes care of an average of 7.7 patients at one time. Besides the 3,218 Sister graduate nurses reported by some 364 institutions that yielded information on this subject, over 3,600 other Sisters were reported to be giving their services, often in the most humble menial capacities, for the care and comfort of the sick. On the basis of this information, Father Schwitalla estimated that 2,500 additional graduate Sister nurses are actually needed at present, and for ideal conditions, a further 1,800 could be employed. Better care could then be provided, the strain on the Sisters would be relieved, and many of them would have an opportunity to assume advanced studies for which they cannot now have the time. The Sisters are now of course ably assisted by lay trained nurses, the nobility of whose vocation is surely second only to that of the Sisters themselves. The Catholic Hospital Association counts some 420 Catholic schools for nurses with approximately 2,400 students in the scholastic year ending 1930. This is nearly one-quarter of the total enrolment in all nursing schools, and does credit to the hierarchy's management and to Catholic womanhood, when one considers that Catholics are one-sixth of the American population.

To the laymen, this may have seemed a jumble of figures. But we believe the factualness of it is more impressive than a disquisition could be. In our times which are now so out of joint, many are doing all that they can to clothe the naked and give drink to the thirsty and food to the hungry and care to those who are sick. To such, this story of accomplishment in Catholic hospitalization will be encouraging. To others, we hope that it may be a suggestion of opportunities that they are missing, which could probably be found right around the corner.

CANADA AT WASHINGTON

By OLIVER McKEE, JR.

AS ITS minister to Washington, the Bennett government in Canada has chosen Major William Duncan Herridge. Soldier and scholar, a lawyer with wide professional contacts both in the dominion and in the United States, the new envoy will bring to the legation in Washington an experience and training which admirably fit him for his duties as spokesman in the American capital for the ten million people of the dominion. Vincent Massey, first Canadian minister to the United States, did much to increase the prestige of Canada in Washington, and his countrymen confidently look to Major Herridge to carry on the work which his predecessor so brilliantly began.

In keeping with its new status as an independent member of the British commonwealth of nations, Canada now has its own ministers in several of the world's capitals. The most important post perhaps is that in Washington, and the Ottawa government lost no time, after the Imperial Conference had recognized the new status of the overseas dominions, in acquiring, at a cost of some \$500,000, a legation for its minister in Washington, one of the finest that any foreign country has placed at the disposal of its representative here. The dominion government acted wisely, for the relations between Canada and the United States were never more important than they are today. And now that Canada has her own minister in Washington, with a staff understanding as well as he does the national aims and aspirations of their country, the dominion can set forth its point of view before the American government and people far better and more effectively than ever before. A British ambassador, of course, always could be counted upon to do his best by Canada, as spokesman for the empire; but no Briton could have the intimate knowledge of the Canadian national spirit or could understand its economic interests, as a Massey or a Herridge. A Britisher could hardly approach Canadian affairs, except in the academic spirit, and in Washington the Canadians have wanted something more than an academic treatment of their problems.

Canada is our closest neighbor, and has been our best customer. At a thousand points the two peoples come into daily contact. An army of tourists from each country crosses the international line each year. In 1929, the United States sold Canada a billion dollars worth of our products; and we bought in turn a half-billion dollars worth of what Canada had to sell. For over a hundred years Canada and the United States

As its status in the British commonwealth of nations now demands, Canada is now represented at foreign capitals. Major Herridge is the second of its ministers to Washington, and it is of interest to see what problems are likely to confront him there. In the following paper, Mr. McKee estimates the "sore points" as being chiefly these three: the tariff, which since 1930 has taken up most space in Canadian comment on the United States, prohibition and broadcasting. Whether or not an amicable disposition of these and other problems can be made is obviously important.—The Editors.

have set an example to the world how two peoples could live together side by side, with three thousand miles of undefended border separating them. The Rush-Bagot agreement of 1917, between the United States and Canada, was one of the earliest naval limitation agreements in modern times, providing

as it did that from thenceforth only four armed naval vessels should be maintained on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain. For over a hundred years there has not even been the threat of war between the two countries; saber-rattling by the public men of either country has been unknown.

Yet this does not imply that there are no points of irritation, nor does it mean that the job of either Hanford MacNider in Ottawa, or William Herridge in Washington, is a sinecure. Points of friction have developed from time to time, and there are several sore points today. The Hawley-Smoot tariff act of 1930 is perhaps outstanding among these. In revising the tariff, Congress boosted materially the duties on agricultural products in order to meet the demand of American farmers for greater protection. This is not the place to pass judgment on the wisdom of Congress in so doing. What is important, to note, however, is the fact that the higher agricultural duties dealt a body blow to the farmers in western Canada, who found an almost prohibitive barrier placed around one of their principal markets. From the Maritime Provinces to British Columbia, and from the Great Lakes to Hudson Bay, a wave of criticism swept the country. This was followed by a loud and urgent demand that the dominion make some answer to the action of the American Congress, and the hostile reaction to the American tariff was one of the factors which put Bennett in power as Prime Minister and head of a Conservative government. He lost no time in following out what appeared to be a clear mandate of the Canadian people.

When Parliament convened soon after Bennett assumed the duties of Prime Minister last year, it promptly increased the tariff duties on several hundred articles imported into Canada. Still other increases may be expected before Parliament closes its present session early this summer. American imports were not singled out by name, but the increase applied to many articles that came principally from the United States. The import and significance of the action of the lawmakers at Ottawa were plain enough; they were making their answer to the Smoot-Hawley bill. Back of the revision upward in the Canadian tariff rates lies a

determination, rather widely entertained among Canadians, to look elsewhere than to American imports to satisfy their needs for manufactured products, and the decline in our sales to Canada of several hundred million dollars would seem to indicate that this determination had already borne practical fruit.

The tariff is not the only sore point. Others which can be set beside it, add to the cumulative effect. Prohibition is one of these. Several problems fall within this broad category. One has been the activity of prohibition and customs agents on the border. Up until recently, the Canadian government permitted clearances to liquor shipments beyond the borders of the dominion, and many of these shipments found their way into the hands of American dealers in contraband liquor. Agents of the United States government had many a run-in along the borders with those engaged in this trade, and there was a good deal of official correspondence on the subject back and forth. Not long ago, as a matter of international comity, and to show that it did not want to lay itself open to the charge of helping those who were violating the laws of a friendly country, the Canadian government decided voluntarily to put an end to clearances for liquor shipments to the United States, even though in so doing, it gave up a revenue of many millions of dollars a year, a considerable item in the national revenues.

But this has not been the only phase of the international problem which prohibition has caused between the two countries. Though the Canadian government conceded the right of our coast guard to search suspected rum runners up to the twelve-mile line off our coasts, instead of the old three-mile line, it has not admitted the right of the coast guard to sink Canadian vessels, and shoot Canadian members of their crews. Furthermore, there has been a good deal of criticism in the dominion over the tendency of certain Treasury officials to pass judgment on the rights and wrongs of such clashes, wholly disregarding the fact that since the Treasury is one of the parties concerned, it is not really in a position to pass judgment. Criticism, too, has been directed against the dictatorial attitude assumed by certain Treasury officials—a proneness in prohibition disputes to lay down the law in an ex-cathedra spirit. Both governments have agreed to compose differences arising out of such cases as the sinking of the *I'm Alone* through an international board—a clear enough indication that the two countries propose to settle their disputes by judicial methods, and a happy augury for the future.

Radio has been another sore point, and here again the criticism of our Canadian friends has been directed not so much against the American government, as against the attitude assumed by one of its agencies. Specifically, Canada takes the Federal Radio Commission to task for assuming that it can assign to the Canadian people certain broadcasting wave-lengths, and that in effect it can regulate the air for the whole western hemisphere. The Radio Commission assigned

certain wave-lengths to Canadian broadcasting stations, in accordance with the relative population of the dominion, as compared with that of the United States. The Canadian objection does not lie so much in any unfairness in its quota of wave-lengths, as in the tone and spirit in which the Radio Commission has proceeded to tell Canada, a sovereign nation, what it could have and what it could not have. Furthermore, Canadians have rather resented being told, in effect, that since our programs are so much better than theirs they ought to be thankful that Canadian households can listen in upon the best that American broadcasting stations can offer. It lies within the power of the dominion government to refuse to accept the quota assigned it by the Radio Commission, and distribute wave-lengths to Canadian stations as it sees fit. If this were done, chaos would prevail in the air throughout the United States, certainly in the northern part of the country.

Fortunately, there is no reason to believe that Canada will proceed to such extreme measures. It is quite likely that the Bennett government will take up the question with the United States through diplomatic channels, hoping in this way, either through a treaty, or otherwise, to right what it believes are present inequities in the allocation of broadcasting facilities. If science can find a way, as many believe it will, to make possible the simultaneous use of single wave-lengths by different stations, just as simultaneous messages are now sent over a single cable, then most of the difficulties would be automatically eliminated.

Other questions, too, come before the governments of the two countries. Canada regards with no enthusiasm the proposal sponsored by the administration for the establishment of a semi-militarized border patrol from Maine to Puget Sound. The idea of a line of border patrolmen, armed to the teeth, seems to clash with the traditional peace and quiet of the international line. Notwithstanding occasional difficulties in the enforcement of our immigration laws, the Canadian authorities have coöperated in fine style with the United States immigration officers, and immigration questions, in recent years, have been of minor importance.

The problem of the St. Lawrence waterway remains on the calendar of unfinished business. Politics on both sides of the line have entered into this question in the past, and they may do so again. According to its spokesmen, the United States has no thought of challenging in any way Canada's sovereignty over the long stretches of the river which run through Canadian territory, and we have no thought of demanding for the United States even a small part of the power that might be developed from the Canadian sections of the river, nor more than a fair share of the power produced along the international portions. The completion of this waterway is as important to the farmers of our West, as it is to those of the Canadian West, yet it will not be easy to strike a nice balance between

the various interests involved—economic, technical and political. The United States has suggested that a commission be appointed with final authority to make the decisions required and negotiate a treaty, but so far Ottawa has not reached a decision whether or not it will accept the American suggestion. Through Minister Herridge, the Bennett government is expected to resume its St. Lawrence negotiations with the Washington administration.

Only through a determination on the part of each people to understand the point of view of the other,

can Canada and the United States keep down to a minimum, points of friction in their future relations. To do this requires diplomatic skill of the highest order at the top, as well as a spirit of tolerance and fair play among the plain people on both sides of the line. In an age still given over to jingoism and international suspicion, Canada and the United States can render the world a great service by showing it that two independent nations can dwell side by side as neighbors, and that, if disputes arise, they can best be settled by judicial methods, rather than by force and intimidation.

THE WAR OVER WAR

By ELMER MURPHY

AFTER some centuries of metaphysical and legalistic exploration, the shadowy borderland where Church ends and State begins remains unknown territory—the breeding place of storms of bitter and malevolent controversy. A mere declaration of separation, like that of the new Spanish government, is little more than an imaginary line such as cartographers use in bisecting mountain ranges, rivers and valleys. Concordats are a more successful method of setting up guide posts to mark jurisdictional limits, though they are not proof against pitfalls and quagmires. Time and custom have somewhat narrowed the zone of uncertainty, but there remains a substantial fringe of doubtful or no-man's land, an area of intermittent, if not incessant, conflict.

The United States is no exception. A century and a half after the complete separation of Church and State we find them, in some respects, inextricably mixed. For the greater part of that time disability laws prohibiting Catholics from holding public office remained on the statute books of the states—an affirmation that religion had a great deal to do with civil affairs. The Senate and the House of Representatives still begin their deliberations with prayer, the only occasion on which government, as such, acknowledges divine supremacy, except when it demands in the oath of office the solemnization of the promise of allegiance before God. Within a month the Supreme Court of the United States has declared us a Christian people, not a Christian government, although the two terms are frequently taken to be interchangeable. Just as often is the assertion made that ours is a Protestant country, which is taken to mean that government shall conform to Protestant moral standards.

At most, the amicable relations between Church and State, or between religion and politics, seem to rest upon a substratum of toleration, a respect for the conviction of others and a modicum of common sense. Unfortunately this basis is not substantial enough to withstand the gusts of political passion. Russia in the heyday of Communistic absolutism makes anything that savors of religion a counter-revolutionary crime by call-

ing it political. Mexico hedges about the exercise of religion with numerous restrictions, and the governors of states even determine the number of pastors needed to look after the spiritual welfare of the people.

Fascism, Communism, nationalism, all of them political in garb, appear to have been particularly active in making forays across the doubtful zone and driving salients far into the religious domain. In the case of Communism the advance has been deliberate. There has been no formal declaration of war but only the flimsiest kind of pretext—the reluctant recognition of the principle of liberty of religious worship—disguises the intent to exterminate religion completely. Fascism, another form of political absolutism, has come to grips with the Vatican by obliterating the religious outposts established by Catholic Action, ostensibly on the ground that they threatened the political security of the Fascist state. Nationalism, at the moment, is apparently stepping over the economic, rather than the religious, borderline, but its peace with religion may, if history keeps to its course, be regarded as an armed truce.

In the United States the encroachment is from the other side. Here, it is asserted, religion is trespassing upon the political domain by making war upon war. The storm centers upon pacifism, which is regarded by the nationalists as an unwarranted aggression upon political or civil jurisdiction. By its adherents it is cloaked in the familiar garment, liberty of conscience.

The troublesome question obtruded itself upon the attention of the United States Supreme Court in the form of an application for citizenship by Dr. Douglas Clyde Macintosh, who was willing to take the prescribed oath of allegiance but with a reservation:

I am not willing to promise beforehand, and without knowing the cause for which my country may go to war, either that I will or that I will not "take up arms in defense of this country," however necessary the war may seem to be to the government of the day.

Dr. Macintosh disclaims pacifism, but believes that war involves a moral question not to be settled by a government declaration and that taking up arms is a

matter of conscience as well as a civic obligation. On the heels of the Supreme Court's decision in this case—which was adverse to Dr. Macintosh—the same question was made the text for a scathing pronouncement by General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff. His target was 12,076 clergymen who, replying to a questionnaire sent out by a religious paper, subscribed to the doctrine that war cannot be morally justified. They, apparently, made no distinction between justifiable and unjustifiable wars but declared all war morally reprehensible, and General MacArthur, whose views may be taken to be the views of the War Department, with the same sweeping gesture rather vehemently set forth the doctrine that war, when declared by Congress, was necessary not only for the preservation of the republic but for the maintenance of religious freedom.

In both cases the point at issue was whether war involved a moral as well as a civic obligation. That it is not a simple question may be assumed from the fact that the United States Supreme Court decided it in a divided opinion. Chief Justice Hughes and Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Stone dissented. The majority of the court stood by Congress.

The subject is important enough to warrant rather lengthy quotation. In the majority opinion of the Supreme Court, Justice Sutherland said, speaking of Dr. Macintosh's application for naturalization:

He is unwilling to leave the question of his future military service to the wisdom of Congress where it belongs, and where every native-born or admitted citizen is obliged to leave it. In effect, he offers to take the oath of allegiance only with the qualification that the question whether the war is necessary or morally justified must, so far as his support is concerned, be conclusively determined by reference to his opinion.

When he speaks of putting his allegiance to the will of God above his allegiance to the government, it is evident, in the light of his entire statement, that he means to make *his own interpretation* of the will of God the decisive test which shall conclude the government and stay its hand. We are a Christian people (Holy Trinity Church v. United States, 143 U. S. 457, 470-471), according to one another the equal right of religious freedom, and acknowledging with reverence the duty of obedience to the will of God. But, also, we are a nation with the duty to survive; a nation whose constitution contemplates war as well as peace; whose government must go forward upon the assumption, and safely can proceed upon no other, that unqualified allegiance to the nation and submission and obedience to the laws of the land, as well those made for war as those made for peace, are not inconsistent with the will of God.

Chief Justice Hughes, in one of his characteristically lucid opinions, held that it was not the intent of Congress, in framing the general oath of office, to impose any religious test. He said:

When we consider the history of the struggle for religious liberty, the large number of citizens of our country from the very beginning, who have been unwilling to sacrifice their religious convictions, and in particular, the

who have been conscientiously opposed to war and who would not yield what they sincerely believed to be their allegiance to the will of God, I find it impossible to conclude that such persons are to be deemed disqualified for public office in this country because of the requirement of the oath which must be taken before they enter upon their duties. The terms of the promise "to support and defend the constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic," are not, I think, to be read as demanding any such result.

I think that the requirement of the oath of office should be read in the light of our regard from the beginning for freedom of conscience. While it has always been recognized that the supreme power of government may be exerted, and disobedience to its commands may be punished, we know that with many of our worthy citizens it would be a most heart-searching question if they were asked whether they would promise to obey a law believed to be in conflict with religious duty. Many of their most honored exemplars in the past have been willing to suffer imprisonment or even death rather than to make such a promise. And we also know, in particular, that a promise to engage in war by bearing arms, or thus to engage in a war believed to be unjust, would be contrary to the tenets of religious groups among our citizens who are of patriotic purpose and exemplary conduct.

Much has been said of the paramount duty to the State, a duty to be recognized, it is urged, even though it conflicts with convictions of duty to God. Undoubtedly that duty to the State exists within the domain of power, for government may enforce obedience to laws regardless of scruples. When one's belief collides with the power of the State, the latter is supreme within its sphere and submission or punishment follows. But, in the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the State has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation, as a matter of principle, would unquestionably be made by many of our conscientious and law-abiding citizens. The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation. As was stated by Mr. Justice Field, in *Davis v. Beason*, 133 U. S. 333, 342: "The term 'religion' has reference to one's views of his relations to his Creator, and to the obligations they impose of reverence for His being and character, and of obedience to His will." One cannot speak of religious liberty, with proper appreciation of its essential and historic significance without assuming the existence of a belief in supreme allegiance to the will of God. Professor Macintosh, when pressed by the inquiries put to him, stated what is axiomatic in religious doctrine. And, putting aside dogmas with their particular conceptions of deity, freedom of conscience itself implies respect for an innate conviction of paramount duty.

The battle for religious liberty has been fought and won with respect to religious beliefs and practices, which are not in conflict with good order, upon the very ground of the supremacy of conscience within its proper field. What that field is, under our system of government, presents in part a question of constitutional law and also, in part, one of legislative policy in avoiding unnecessary clashes with the dictates of conscience. There is abundant room for enforcing the requisite authority of law as it is

enacted and requires obedience, and for maintaining the conception of the supremacy of law as essential to orderly government, without demanding that either citizens or applicants for citizenship shall assume by oath an obligation to regard allegiance to God as subordinate to allegiance to civil power. The attempt to exact such a promise, and thus to bind one's conscience by the taking of oaths or the submission to tests, has been the cause of many deplorable conflicts. The Congress has sought to avoid such conflicts in this country by respecting our happy tradition. In no sphere of legislation has the intention to prevent such clashes been more conspicuous than in relation to the bearing of arms. It would require strong evidence that the Congress intended a reversal of its policy in prescribing the general terms of the naturalization oath. I find no such evidence.

The Chief of Staff showed no such judicial restraint in dealing with the clergymen who propose to abjure war. He said:

My predominant feeling with reference to the majority of the replies received by your paper from 19,372 clergymen is that of surprise—surprise at the knowledge that so many of the clergymen of our country have placed themselves on record as repudiating in advance the constitutional obligations that will fall upon them equally with all other elements of our citizenship in supporting this country in case of need.

The question of war and peace is one that rests, under our form of government, in Congress. In exercising this authority Congress voices the will of the majority, whose right to rule is the cornerstone upon which our government edifice is built. Under the constitution, its pronouncement upon such a question is final, and is obligatory upon every citizen of the United States. That men who wear the cloth of the Church should openly defend repudiation of the laws of the land, with the necessary implications and ramifications arising from such a general attitude toward our statutes, seems almost unbelievable.

It also surprises me that while apparently entering a plea for freedom of conscience, these clergymen are attempting to dictate to the consciences of those who honestly differ from them over questions of national defense. Their sentiments and implied efforts are injecting the Church into the affairs of State and endangering the very principle that they claim to uphold.

Obviously some allowance must be made, in weighing these opinions, for the contrast between the calm of the bench and the military habit of mind. Besides, Chief Justice Hughes and General MacArthur were not discussing the same thing. One was referring to conscientious objection to what might be regarded as unjust war. The other was denouncing those who frowned on war as something evil in itself. But the fact remains that the principle so positively, even explosively, stated by the general—that war is not a moral question and that the rectitude of Congress in declaring it cannot be questioned—is doubted by the judge. Moreover, it is not improbable that the clergymen, whose attitude is depicted as treasonable by their military critics, might have labored under the delusion

that they were conforming to the spirit of the Kellogg treaty by the terms of which governments abjured war as a method of settling international disputes.

There, with much said on both sides, the question rests—as far from a convincing answer as ever. But the clash of opinion regarding it is not so ominous as it may sound. The Supreme Court, while asserting in its majority opinion, that the power of deciding whether the citizenry shall take up arms, rests with Congress and not with the individual conscience, points out that Congress has exercised its authority with so much discrimination that the conscientious objector need have no misgivings that his scruples will be violated. "This policy," it says, "is of such long standing that it is thought by some to be beyond the possibility of alteration." The four dissenting justices go only a short step further by asserting that this long-established practice is implied in the law of the land.

General MacArthur's bristling statement shows no such spirit of accommodation. He denounces in unmeasured terms those who denounce war but we discover that he is talking only of just war. He takes for granted that Congress cannot declare an unjust war.

As a practical matter it is doubtful that in a democracy such as ours Congress would declare war unless such a declaration were demanded by a substantial majority of the citizenry. In the past it has been reluctant to make so momentous a decision and has followed, rather than led, popular clamor. But in these days of organized minorities it is dangerous to predict what Congress will or will not do.

For the bewildered citizen the only course seems to be to rely upon the good sense of Congress not to plunge the country into a war which would arouse the conscientious scruples of individuals who find it difficult to submit their judgment to the judgment of the legislators whom they have chosen to act for them. Against the storms that arise in this twilight zone that lies between Church and State, politics and religion, the greatest security seems to lie in a reasonable consideration for the convictions of those who do not see eye to eye with us, tolerance and a modicum of common sense.

Hope

How glorious is the battle of the brave—
They of the shining swords, whose courage keen
Is their most worthy weapon! With what clean
Strong certainty they fight! Nor falling, crave
The respite that, alluring, doth enslave;
For them no fettered safety, vile and mean,
No wretched servitude! They, daring, e'en
By one swift stroke themselves both lose and save!

While I—O God! O Father, pity me!
Sick with the struggle, I must pull apart
My cords of bondage only strand by strand;
Yet in my very weakness hope shall be;
I have no strength, *therefore* my fainting heart
Shall ask and have the strength of Thine own hand!

S. C. N.

WHERE IS THE TRUTH?

By GEORGE N. SHUSTER

A SURVEY of the status and prospects of Catholic Evidence work in the United States, by Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara, has now been printed and distributed as a brochure of some forty pages. It would be difficult to find more both of substance and challenge in so brief a space. First, substance: the field in which Catholic Evidence has a free scope for its energies and objects, the agencies upon which it must rely, and the present status of those agencies. Second, challenge: the imperative obligation both to preach a doctrine which is "tidings of great joy" right now as well as two thousand years ago, and to guard rights and privileges, sacred even to Catholics who would hardly venture to consider themselves bad publicans, from attack or disregard by ubiquitously powerful public opinion. Because one knows that the survey has been made with the full coöperation of numerous interested and well-informed Catholics, there is no reason to wonder if it be correct or intelligent. It is both, to the extent to which the leadership—including the lay leadership—of the Church in this country is capable of right judgment and sound sense. I shall content myself, therefore, with exposition and assume that while criticism of certain findings in the survey is legitimate, it can hardly avail us much.

"The people of the United States inherit, with the English tongue, the British anti-Catholic tradition." This ranges between the boggy discerned in all things Spanish during the Tudor era—the inquisition, the plots to murder English sovereigns, the Jesuits—to the conviction that being a Catholic is somehow incompatible with the art of being a gentleman. In the New World, these prejudices express themselves in a fear of Catholic advance as a prelude to "foreign domination," and in the belief that the "Church of Rome" comes naturally and necessarily by its inferiority complex. History played into the hands of this tradition:

The Catholic Church emerged as an actuality into the national consciousness of the American people through the coming of the Irish who, having been oppressed by England, had to be despised in the English tradition; and through the coming of Continental Catholics who were despised for their broken English.

And for their poverty, too, the immigrant serving as butler, factory-hand and gardener to his majesty, the scion of the Mayflower. Again and again the prevailing sentiment flamed into unreasonable and corporate anger, as Know-Nothings or Klanites swung into action with tar, feathers and rags soaked in kerosene.

Two attitudes toward this situation are possible—either contented inferiority, the ostrich tactics of letting life and the world roll on at a distance, or confidence

in the Divine promise regarding both mustard tree and lost sheep. Bishop O'Hara's report avers:

Whatever might be said in favor of a timid policy for a country with only a handful of Catholics, and these without material or educational resources, such a policy in the United States today can only prolong the Anglo-Catholic tradition—long discarded in England—that Catholics are a *gens lucifuga*.

But what has the Church to rely upon, provided it dedicates itself to confidence? First of all, it would seem, its own experience of American psychology at its best. "Constant public courtesy," says the Reverend John Cavanaugh, C.S.C., is the primary mandate given by that experience; and Father Cavanaugh may be termed a man who has successfully practised what he preaches. Next in order is concrete, practical enunciation of the truth, and less splitting of erroneous hairs in a debating mood which too frequently ignores the half in a half-truth and so, through misplaced emphasis on the good principle of "no compromise," ends in the bad practice of "no effect."

Now for the ways and means. The survey properly indicates that the Christian apostolate is threefold, using as it does prayer, example and the word. Neither the first nor the second can be ignored—indeed, their ramifications are multiform, embracing as they do the liturgical movement and the advocacy of social justice—but Bishop O'Hara rightly places the emphasis upon the third, *fides ex auditu*. Here one must distinguish between "agencies" and "contacts." Thus an eminent preacher must be available before he can step into a pulpit, but there must also be an audience to address. Broadly speaking, "agencies" may be classified as persons (e.g., the teaching hierarchy, a missionary), institutions (e.g., schools and colleges), literature (e.g., books and periodicals), and organizations (e.g., National Council of Catholic Women). When one pries into the domain of "contacts," it becomes evident that while these are available in abundance inside the Catholic body, they are "very limited" outside that body. This is manifestly an important fact indeed, since the peculiar need for Evidence lies very largely outside.

What, for instance, is the present effectiveness of personal contacts between Catholics and non-Catholics? In answering, we must not underestimate the value of prayer and giving witness. Huysmans, for example (this is not in the survey), stated that his recovery of faith was obviously and demonstrably due to the fact that many people continued to pray for him while he was wandering down the broad highway; and there is probably not a single conscious Catholic who has not reasons for knowing the value which the prayer

of others has been to him individually. Nevertheless, the stress must once more be laid on *fides ex auditu*, since for very plain reasons it is the foundation. Well, at present the apologetic effectiveness of "personal contacts" is very slight. The lecture to non-Catholics has largely fallen into decay, owing in considerable measure to a change in the character of the lecture-going public. Mixed marriages, though frequently leading to instruction and conversion, are precarious props for an Evidence movement. Private conversation is the most widespread form of existing personal relations, but in the very nature of talk lies its limited usability as an apologetic agency. Catholic institutions necessarily reach the outsider by example rather than doctrine, and the moral law of "confessional peace" binds them more strictly than it does any other form of religious action.

There remain the possibilities of the radio, of lay leadership and of literature. The first is significant but at present untested and hard to judge. Bishop O'Hara's survey comments on the radio, apart from the "Catholic Hour," as follows:

Although seven stations are under Catholic auspices, only a minor fraction of their time is devoted to religious broadcasting. The purely religious broadcasting from these stations is therefore hardly more than fifteen hours a week. This is not, however, a fair measure of their Catholic influence. Most of the cultural features—lectures, music, etc.—in their programs have a large apologetic value and possess besides the merit of a public service.

Turning now to writing, one must indubitably assume that Catholic publications as such reach very few people outside the Church. The matter is summed up by the survey as "very limited in extent." By comparison, news and articles expressing a Catholic point of view and appearing in the secular press are widely read. But as a rule their effectiveness is marred (this is also not in the survey) by the circumstance that, taken as a unit, they constitute only a thin trickle of Catholicism across an alien landscape. The obvious way out is (a) to increase the number of Catholics able to do such writing, and (b) to follow up the invitations extended, by building up a journalism to which these may contribute and a news service upon which they can rely.

That clerical leadership and lay leadership must assume the burdens incident to each with full integrity and, beyond that, coöperate in the discipline of the Church is, perhaps, the most fundamental truth enunciated in the survey. We are glad to endorse with all our hearts the comment on the second:

In view of the call of the Holy Father for a lay apostolate for Catholic Action the question of the place of lay leadership must be frankly discussed. To assume that the laity are to act simply as rubber stamps for the clergy is to deny them leadership. Yet how shall they be leaders in an organization of which the clergy are the divinely constituted guides? The answer is to be found in the vast field of Catholic Action in a changing world where the application of the deposit of Christian doctrine requires

the coöperation not of thousands but of millions of the faithful. It is necessity of developing this vast and fruitful field that has led to the call for the lay apostolate.

In general, it may suffice to say that the intelligent layman must be allowed a certain freedom of action. He must not be held in constant check, under penalty of losing his service altogether. Trained and docile to authority, the Church gave the historian, Pastor, a wide latitude of investigation. He was of course an extraordinarily well-trained laymen, but this same principle must be applied to all lay leaders in proper proportion. The Church in Germany has realized this truth and has profited by the coöperation of a great body of capable lay leaders.

This seems to us in every respect exact, just and helpful. All talk of lay performance of clerical tasks is mere passing of the buck when it is not something worse. The strict maintenance of his autonomy inside the communal life of the Church is really the sole manner in which the layman can serve; but that autonomy must be as real as the word itself, and sanctified by the aims and means of religion. On the other hand, the survey does not hesitate to demand of the clergy a full measure of devotion:

The missionary attitude of the seminarians is a reflection of the spirit of the institution. A smug, self-satisfied attitude on the part of seminarians looking forward to a comfortable living, ministering as functionaries to a people who provide a generous support, in a word, the typical institutional outlook, gives promise of dry-rot in the exercise of the sacred ministry. It is the opposite of the apostolic spirit, and it is the greatest danger to which ecclesiastical seminaries are exposed. It is consistent with every outward appearance of decorum and excellence. It is inconsistent only with the purposes for which ecclesiastical seminaries exist. The seminary must create a missionary spirit in its candidates for the priesthood. This will be done not merely by making its course in apologetics alive, but by presenting the white harvest as the field of labor for which it is preparing. The Students' Mission Crusade presents the point of view. But the seminary faculty will have to give the inspiration.

It is too late in the day to offer apologies for Evidence. Though Catholics in the United States may, on the one hand, have been a little slow to recognize the obligation to respect and promote confessional peace—at least Dr. Plümmer's comment on the matter seems to have occasioned some astonishment—they have, on the other hand, been even slower to sense the necessity of teaching the doctrine, the life and the *Weltanschauung* upon which the moral counsels so frequently stressed must repose if they are to have more than a speculative importance. Because Bishop O'Hara's survey suggests a program by which progress is conceivable, we recommend it to the attention of all. One may add that many of the problems with which it deals are universal rather than national in scope. An excellent analysis of the difficulties now confronting Catholic activity—perhaps the best I have seen—is contributed to *Schönere Zukunft* (Vienna) for June 21 by the Reverend Adalbert Bangha, S.J. Read it, too.

THE COUNTRY FAIR

By PADRAIC COLUM

IN THE generality of Irish country towns haphazardness, patched-upedness, and planlessness is carried to such a pitch that, like every human system that is consistent with itself, the total lack of synthesis comes to seem inevitable, and, for that reason, to some minds admirable. Ireland in the distant future will have planned towns, no doubt. But when such are achieved I hope there will be preserved something of the present order. I hope she will preserve C—— as an example of it.

Thousands of visitors, I believe, would come to a preserved C——. I would have nothing changed in it. The guide should take the visitors down the Main Street that is so narrow that one thinks of it as a street in a walled town. But C—— was never walled. Then the visitors would come out, not on one, but on three distinct places. Therein they will discover a Celtic cross, a roofed fountain that has been waterless for many a day and that is railed in to prevent the town loafers from seating themselves around it, and a newspaper kiosk that has its windows plastered over with song-sheets dating from altogether another era in humor and sentimentality. Obviously the Celtic cross has been assembled from pieces found far apart: the stem and the circle are distinct pieces, and the whole is resting on a base of modern cement. The court-house fronts one of the places, a church surmounts another, and the market-house opens on the third. Out of them two streets go: one is in a straight line and becomes a road that goes along the fields, and the other, curving so as to be almost circular, leads to the Fair Green.

Those who go along this last street in these days of grace find it occupied mainly with greyhounds. They bound before us with the activity of gazelles. All except one; a girl delivering milk holds this one on a leash (in the hand that holds the leash she has also a bunch of daffodils). In this street a row of houses made of cement and calling itself a terrace stands next to, but obviously aloof from, old-fashioned whitewashed houses with half-doors that are painted red. As we go by, men standing on ladders are whitewashing the walls and singing vague songs to themselves. The windows of the whitewashed houses are crowded with bird-cages and geraniums. Then we come to a walled-in churchyard, "The Abbey." Headstones are stooping toward the ground, or, having given up the effort to remain upright, are lying flat. These stones and the trunks of the trees that are in the enclosure are covered with a green mold. The gable-end of the building is standing; there are jackdaws in a line upon it, and there are jackdaws in the trees where they have their habitations.

This ruin shut up with its tombstones has the grimness one notices in enlarged photographs that one finds in inn parlors. The court-house has a like grimness. So has the church that surmounts one of the places. This particular place, by the way, has a singularity. Any vehicle coming into it takes on the appearance of a procession. Is this because the vehicle moves against a line of buildings, setting a current against stagnation? I do not know. I merely note that a bread-van, high and red, on which sat a driver in a white coat, the van being followed by an ass-cart and a baby-carriage, took on the appearance of a circus. After them came a bell-man. Now the function of a bell-man, I take it, is to make some announcement. The ringing is only a prelude to the announcement. This bell-man rang and rang and made no announcement. Perhaps he was one who understood the dramatic value of suspense. Perhaps he was malevolent and was bent upon teasing us by withholding the

announcement that we should have expected. If such was the case the townspeople got the better of his malevolence, for they refused him any sort of anticipation. Still he rang and rang as if the shaking of a bell was his way of being orgiastic.

Now the cattle are going toward the Fair Green. They are followed by men, some young, some mature, who have the purposeful saunter of men who follow herds. One hears the crack of a cane as the bullock is made lurch back to the track it should follow. The Fair Green is more of a plowed field than a green—in fact no field hereabouts has been so deeply delved. Men and cattle fill it, and the bellow the cattle raise is in harmony with the heavy sky that is over the place. But the scene has animation. Buyers and sellers are tense and purposeful as they go among the herds. "I won't take ten pounds." "You won't get it." The seller is sullen, the prospective buyer aggressive. He turns away. Two men go after him helpfully; they draw him back to where the seller stands. They urge the sullen man, they persuade the aggressive man. They try to make them clasp hands as buyer and seller. The seller remains sullen. The prospective buyer goes, and the other stands by his cattle with the air of one to whom a wrong has been done. Another fair stretches along the straight road, and at this one women predominate. Their painted carts are resting on shafts, and in the carts, cuddling to each other in the straw, are litters of young pigs; they are noticeably spick and span. As we listen to the tragical bellowing that comes from the Fair Green we think that the pigs, so contentedly huddling in the carts are the pets, the darlings, the favorites of the countryside. We hear a scream that, against the heavy lowing of the cattle, is like the outbreak of a spoiled child. This is when one or another of the little pigs is dragged from its resting place. But the protest ends quickly, and there is repose once more in the cart.

And now, back in the town, the cheap-jacks have appeared. There are two of them. A cheap-jack and a showman are one and the same: the cheap-jack has to make his wares interesting to a public that are only prospectively his customers; he has to take on a part that cajoles or intimidates his public. Now the cheap-jacks at this fair were of exactly opposite types; the one cajoled, the other intimidated. Their publics never mingled. They cracked-up their wares each side of the waterless fountain, and one had an audience exclusively of women and the other an audience exclusively of men—a delph-ware salesman and a harness salesman.

The delph-ware jack was slight, quick on his feet, and the darkness of his skin suggested that he was a gypsy, but as one looked at him more closely one saw that this was an African darkness and that he was Negroid. His wares were spread on the ground; as he went up and down offering his cups and saucers and crocks and his other articles of earthenware, he introduced into his banter details that brought a giggle from one girl and made another draw the shawl across her face.

The cheap-jack at the other side of the fountain had features that were thickened and toughened, colored and corrugated. He stood up on his van and addressed an exclusively masculine public with a ponderousness that had behind it a deal of bawdry. His was the Scotch humor, shrewd and gross, the humor of an unplayful folk: he was an Ulsterman from Strabane and had more Scotch than Irish in him. "Go to the broth-shop and get your bellies filled. I can't be looking at them with wrinkles in them like yards of corduroy." This was the method of his address. And he would pluck at a purchaser by saying to him, "You with your hands in your breeches pockets scratching your brains."

What he had to sell were harness-articles that had been re-

jected from some army stores—reins, bridles, straps, lengths of leather, lengths of rope. Shaking out a length of rope and saying that it was strong enough to tie a bull-elephant, he went on, "Five shillings, four shillings, three shillings, two shillings, one shilling," and not getting a bid at one shilling he coiled it up again and tossed it into a receptacle. "Mind ye," he said after this failure, "I'm not here to amuse ye, so it'll be a pity of me if I'm put into Sligo jail or Dundalk jail for not paying the entertainment tax that they lift off the people that put up shows." He sold a strap for a shilling and then remarked, "Do ye all live on the one farm and does one hames-strap do for the lot o'ye?"

Then he took up a whip; it bent and curled as he handled it, and he handled it with great mastery. He showed us its brass mounting, its pliant lash, and he bent the stock to let us know that a steel rod ran the length of it. "Ten shillings, nine shillings, eight shillings, seven shillings, six shillings, five shillings. . . . Tell me when I'm to stop. If ye were before me with your breeches down ye'd soon be crying for me to stop." As he said this he made the lash curl and crack; he could make a lash cut, so he could. The business he did was not as brisk as his outgivings in speech; still he got rid of twenty shillings worth of leather—he had probably bought it for five shillings. I saw him drive out of the town and making great display with his whip. Burns should have dealt with such a one as he, giving him a stool and a doxy by Poozie Nancy's fire.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE CATHOLIC BIRTH RATE

Salt Lake City, Utah.

TO the Editor: May I be allowed the following reply to the comments on my article, "The Catholic Birth Rate."

1. The comments did not question the accuracy of "The Official Catholic Directory" in regard to infant baptisms and deaths. They failed to note that my calculation of the birth rate was based exclusively on the figures for deaths and infant baptisms, and disregarded the population figures of the "Directory." For assuming the same average death rate for Catholics as for the general population, and multiplying by the proportion that is of one thousand, we get the Catholic population. Then dividing this population into the infant baptisms gives us the birth rate.

2. The only population figures of the "Directory" entering into my paper were the totals for the two years, 1930 and 1931. But using only populations calculated from the deaths for the eighty-four dioceses reporting deaths, in the 1930 "Directory," we get a population of 12,693,575. With an excess of births over deaths of 19 per 1,000, this population should have increased by 237,813. As a matter of fact, the population for these dioceses calculated from the deaths reported in the 1931 "Directory," showed a decrease of 175,047. This would be a loss, merely for these dioceses, of 412,860. That is worse than the inference I drew from the total populations given in the "Directory."

3. Bishop Noll thinks that the Catholic population is probably 5,000,000 more than the total of the "Directory." If this is so, and the "Directory" figures for infant baptisms and deaths are correct—Bishop Noll did not question them—then the birth rate for Catholics would be approximately that of the general population, and the death rate of the general population would be 25 percent greater than the death rate for Catholics.

4. Mr. Eddy says that Cincinnati should have gained 4,652—the excess of baptisms over deaths—whereas it reported a gain

of only 3,571. This would be true if Cincinnati had no leakage. But that is one of the very points at issue.

5. Mr. Rumford's point is well taken, and some day I hope to make a study covering a number of years. In the meantime, he would probably find C. H. Moehlman's "Catholic-Protestant Mind" interesting. Professor Moehlman's study of the federal census of religions shows that in 1926 Catholics formed a smaller proportion of the total population than in 1906.

6. If the figures in "The Official Catholic Directory," when taken at their face value, show a very disturbing situation, and if (as the comments implied) they are so worthless that no conclusion can be legitimately drawn from them, does not the question naturally arise: Why publish them?

REV. J. ELLIOT ROSS.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

Shipley, England.

TO the Editor: I have read with the greatest interest the article by Mr. Shuster in that number of THE COMMONWEAL which has just reached me (the issue of June 17). He honors me by alluding in it to the letter I had previously written to you, in which I asked for particulars of what those who suggest the revision of the peace treaties and their consequences desire. I had hoped to find in his article when it began by this allusion some specific suggestions applicable to the situation, but I am disappointed in finding none. Perhaps you will allow me to reiterate my question. It is a simple and direct one, and obviously the only one with any practical value under the circumstances.

What precisely is suggested?

Of course every man who is discontented with the effects of the war will suggest his own answer; these answers will fall into groups which do not coincide. I am not pretending that nothing can be done unless we have a unanimous answer, but it seems to me obvious that anyone who is eager for the revision of the conditions laid down in Europe by the victory of the Allies is bound to tell us what he is after, on broad lines at least, so that we may judge of what value his program is. Remember that there are two ways of revising treaties: they can be revised not only in favor of the defeated, but also in favor of the victors, or of some one, or more, of the victors. If we handle the powder barrel so as to produce an explosion the final result may make the present victims of the treaties worse off than they are now.

Let us assume that the object of revision is to bring advantage to the Reich, that is, the bulk of the Germanies which Bismarck organized under Prussia—which Reich in spite of the war has been allowed to survive intact. Is it suggested that Prussia should be allowed to reoccupy the Polish part of Pomerania including the new port of Gdynia, which is Poland's great outlet to the sea? Is it suggested that Prussia is to reoccupy those parts of Silesia in which there is a Polish majority and which are now under Polish control? Is it suggested that Alsace and Lorraine should be given back to the Reich? Or that a popular vote should be taken in Alsace-Lorraine to determine what should be done with it? Is it suggested that England should give back to the Reich the African colonies taken away after the victory? Is it suggested that England shall welcome a new fleet built by the Reich, as powerful as the British fleet? Is it suggested that the German-speaking inhabitants of the extreme end of the Adige valley in the mountains, now under Italian control, should be handed back to Austria? Is it suggested that Hungary should be enlarged; that Transylvania should be taken away again from Rumania,

or that the Italians should abandon Istria? Is it suggested that the present payments drawn by the United States from the Germans indirectly (through payment to France, Italy and England, who in turn pay the United States) shall be wiped out, and everyone start again with a clean slate? Is it suggested that the small payments in actual reparations for damage done shall be no longer paid to France, Belgium and Italy? Is it suggested that England should abandon Palestine and the Arabs left free to expel the Jews? Is it suggested that England shall also give up her power over the Euphrates and Tigris valley?

All of these are definite questions capable of a definite answer, and until we know to which of these questions an answer is proposed, and in what sense, we are wasting our time.

HILAIRE BELLOC.

The tone of Mr. Belloc's present letter is vastly more agreeable to me personally than was that of his first. It seems obvious that he is not among the omnibus futilitarians at whom my comment was specifically directed. Even so, I should like to venture a few remarks:

(A) Neither I nor any other American can attempt to answer the questions put, or even hold that a *carte blanche* reply to them would have much value. This does not mean, however, that a copious literature of responses is not available. Personally I think that British diplomacy is best equipped with the information and impartiality requisite to judge post-war Europe, and *suggest again* that Mr. Belloc ought, in the interests of all of us, address his interrogatory to that part of the Foreign Office willing and able to consider it.

(B) It does not follow that we are "wasting our time" unless we have drawn up an itemized list of the changes desired.

First: isn't Mr. Belloc lumping in the same category several distinct groups of political facts? For instance, certain revisions are desired by the victors, others by the vanquished. The United States (which, I think, may also fairly be said to have won the war) has repudiated the settlement of Versailles, and with that the "machinery for correcting errors" to which its President looked forward hopefully. That Great Britain and Italy are dissatisfied with many aspects of the existing arrangement is also clear. But these are disagreements of desire, not of justice. Then again, it seems manifestly incorrect to bundle the German situation with the disarray among the current fractions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first retained its legal, economic and geographical contour, but as a direct result of the guilt theory was saddled with decimating punishments. The second fell apart, and the problem is simply one of determining whether the pieces are humanly, morally and economically satisfactory. Not all the king's horses can put the Hapsburg realm together again, though a better ontology for the now existing fragments seems conceivable. It follows, therefore, that what in the case of Germany is a matter of *rights* legally inherent in real sovereignty—i.e., if the guilt theory is incorrect—becomes in the case of southeastern Europe a matter of *expediency* excepting in so far as the principle of self-determination has genuine value. Finally, one may legitimately hold, I think, that a problem of *vital* importance to Europe—and the relief of Franco-German dissonance is that absolutely—ought not to be grouped *a priori* with such *theoretical questions* of disarmament as the possible creation of a new German navy.

Second: it follows from the very nature of the queries proposed by Mr. Belloc that they must not be answered in detail before they are replied to in principle. Let us take an example. The fact that Germany has been obliged to pay reparations

moneys is in accord with international practice, however one may regard such obligations from the ideal point of view; but the fact that she is also paying off the indebtedness incurred by her former enemies is justifiable only on the assumption that she is guilty. More generally speaking, does either history or reason suggest that a detailed statement of the effects deducible from a principle must precede a statement of that principle? If so, the papal encyclical on social problems is guilty of quite erroneous procedure.

I hold, therefore, that what is up for discussion is not a list of problems but a conception of international morality. Three elements of this seem to me fundamental. (1) Is the guilt theory, upon which according to the frank testimony of M. Poincaré the Versailles settlement is based, tenable in the light of our present knowledge and social necessities? Are the violations of German rights, financial or geographical, which have been derived from that theory either justifiable or desirable? Is the maintenance of that theory by force compatible with the health of Christian civilization? (2) To what extent is the so-called right of self-determination an entity with which practical political morality can be concerned? Are the rights to govern and be governed contingent upon practical application and pan-European aims? Is such a book as Dr. Otto's "Justice for Hungary" to be answered by ethics or expediency? I don't know the reply to these questions, but I am certain that *if we can* we must utilize for the benefit of the world the history of English-Irish relationships. (3) How can we underwrite international morality? Only, it seems to me, by conceding that the League of Nations as it now stands is the bulwark of French policy, and that the French in turn keep it so because they fear the "grudge" which is now poisoning German domestic politics and threatening to end in explosive adventure. Here is the opportunity for British-American influence, which must work *both ways*. Of necessity that means ending the endeavor to maintain a status quo by force.

Third: the practicability of approaching international relations from the point of view of principle seems to be the only recourse that is *not* futile. Those relations as they exist in the contemporary world may be said to have passed through two stages. The first was an attempt to supplant the foolhardy diplomacy and imperialism which led to the war—from all sides of the compass—with a one-sided if genuine idealism. This failed, and the second stage in which the forces of economic and political "laws" were relied upon as sufficient cure-alls, began. Here again we ended in utter rout, which might have led to unthinkable catastrophe if Mr. Hoover had not read the handwriting on the wall. His action seems to lead to the third and imperative stage—that of assuming the existence of international morality and of building up a machinery to foster and safeguard it. This is not a panacea, to be sure. But whenever it has been applied during the past twelve tentative years, e.g., at Locarno, it has proved itself the only means that does not fail.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

EMPIRE BUILDERS

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editor: In my review of Mr. Henry Morton Robinson's "Stout Cortez" I stated as a fact that the author was not a Catholic. I had been so informed, but I have since learned that Mr. Robinson has always been a Catholic, and as no doubt he will be pained by my misstatement I wish to make this correction.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

BOOKS

Labor Leadership

The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers, by Louis S. Reed. New York: Columbia University Press. \$3.00.

GOMPERS "was a practical man, a fighter, a man of action, not a philosopher." But, we are reminded, every person has a "philosophy," even if, as with Gompers, "no philosophy" becomes the official philosophy of the movement with which he is identified. And while it is not possible to piece Gompers's thought together into a coherent and logical pattern, he did have most emphatic ideas concerning methods appropriate to the labor movement of his time. Certain of his views underwent marked changes as the years passed. As a young man Gompers was a Socialist, while toward the end of his career he espoused a "voluntarism" in its essentials closely akin to anarchism. But these apparently contradictory "philosophies" had a common origin: each was an outgrowth of Gompers's interpretation of the labor movement's requirements. For even as a Marxian, under the tutelage of Ferdinand Laurrell, Gompers belonged to that group of disciples who read their *Das Kapital* to mean that organized labor as an instrument for establishing the "Coöperative Commonwealth" must have precedence over political party action.

The Coöperative Commonwealth, however, receded into the realm of Utopia as a result of conflicts inside and outside the A. F. of L. with the Socialist followers of Lassalle and De Leon. The state became an object with which entangling alliances should be avoided. This was mainly a product of experience with injunctions and with constitutional obstacles in attempts to obtain labor legislation. Gompers also feared that union activities would be hampered by minimum wage and hours legislation through their invitation to the entering wedge of compulsory arbitration, with consequent infringement upon the precious "right to strike." Doubtless he hoped too that advocacy of voluntarism, expressed in sentiments dear to employing interests, might induce them to be more favorably disposed toward his offers of union coöperation with management. He wrote: "The gulf between politics and industry is as wide as the seven seas and as deep. Also politics breeds the demagogue, the emotionalist, the flatterer, the master of cajolery; industry breeds the master of knowledge. The realm of the one is the realm of abstraction and theory; the realm of the other is the realm of performance." The ideal Gompers professed during the last few years of his life was a democratization of industry in which labor and management, as "insiders" possessed of expert knowledge, would work in harmony to secure a degree of efficiency that meddling government officials from the "outside" never could attain. Through such an arrangement, productivity would increase and the profit motive would be made to serve social ends.

From his attitude toward the state was derived Gompers's opposition to establishing a labor party. If the state constituted a dangerous as well as an inefficient instrument, it was obviously better to remain as independent as possible. But more basic with the realization, sometimes partially expressed, that with the existing mores of the vast majority of wage earners, a labor party would be a futile device, and through factional dissension and divided interest it would also weaken the unions. The author indicates his belief that during the long régime of Gompers circumstances so altered as to make desirable union participation in the formation of a labor party. A more realistic view, however, would seem to justify Gompers's opposition.

Until a much larger proportion of wage earners are sufficiently conscious of their class to organize into unions, there is little reason for thinking they would cohere in a stable political party.

But while Gompers minimized the gains to be anticipated from the state, he was busy agitating for legislation. Part of this activity had a certain consistency with his abstract position, for the legislation in which he was most vitally concerned—that relating to the abuse of the injunction—purposed to lessen rather than to increase the power of the state. His support of certain other specific legislative proposals is more difficult to reconcile with his abstract position. However, in campaigning on behalf of Henry George for mayor of New York and in endorsing La Follette for the Presidency, Gompers could argue correctly that nothing in the federation's non-partizan policy compelled a choice solely between Democrats and Republicans.

Gompers is largely absolved by Dr. Reed of the frequent charge that he was indifferent to the organization of unskilled workers. Extensive organization work was sincerely desired by Gompers and during the first half of his leadership he was active in this respect. But again he was faced with a dilemma. The desirable method of reaching the non-union unskilled workers was through organizations constructed on industrial lines. But to press for necessary structural changes would have antagonized the dominant craft unions in the federation. In his first years as president, Gompers manifested a realization that industrial unions had distinct advantages over craft bodies—a matter not discussed by Dr. Reed. But as time passed and the dogma of craft autonomy became more firmly established, for Gompers to have opposed this dogma undoubtedly would have made him unavailable for the presidency of the federation. The sentiment among the rank and file of the crafts as well as among their officials would not have tolerated a rapid orientation toward industrial unionism. And Gompers had enough confidence in himself, or egotism, as one prefers, to feel certain that his services were essential to the labor movement.

The reader is reminded again and again that Gompers wanted, above all else, to continue as president of the federation. Dominated by this idea, of course a program designed to organize large numbers of additional workers was subordinated to the necessity of keeping peace with the craft unions out of deference for their overwhelming voting strength in the A. F. of L. conventions. Paradoxically, moreover, Gompers's activity in securing legislation concerning the value of much of which he was, on principle, sceptical, prevented him during the last twenty years of his presidency from devoting time to the work he most believed in, organizing the unorganized.

In his acknowledgements Dr. Reed states that "Mr. J. B. S. Hardman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers aided in the preparation of several chapters." But despite the evident interpretive influence throughout the book of a leader in a union which has no reason to be grateful to the A. F. of L., the appraisal of Gompers's ideas is not unsympathetic. And the careful and nearly complete historical account which the author provides goes far toward modifying the picture of Gompers as a dictator, a picture probably still in the minds of many "intellectuals." Politician and schemer Gompers clearly was, and his wire-pulling and manipulation to keep himself in office were of a kind occasionally demanding drastic mutations in "philosophy." "His leadership was a leadership of tactics, a leadership in the day-to-day activities of the movement. As a leader, followers were necessary to him, and he hesitated ever to separate himself from his followers. As leader of the movement he was mouth-piece and weathervane."

LYLE W. COOPER.

The Long Savannahs

The Stars in Their Courses, by Sir James Jeans. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

"THE STARS in Their Courses," the third half-popular book of the distinguished author to come out within a year and a half, contains radio talks enlarged and put into more systematic form. It is different from "The Universe around Us" and "The Mysterious Universe," which have been reviewed here recently, in so far as it contains no direct philosophical conclusions, being kept at a less difficult and less profound level. It has in common with them much of the material of facts, the delightful style and vivid presentation and (with the first) the abundance of beautiful photographs.

The first chapter deals with the aspect of the heavens, the constellations and the mythical descriptions given for them by the ancients. The appendix, together with two star maps (one for the northern and one for the southern hemisphere), describes these constellations in more detail and gives instructions for identifying them. The second chapter takes us on an imaginary rocket journey to the center of the sun and explains what we would see on this trip out through space, past the moon, Venus and Mercury, through the sun's outer atmosphere into its interior, where matter is in a state very much different from the one which is familiar to us, though some knowledge of it can be gained from laboratory experiments and observations of the sun.

The end of this and the beginning of the third chapter treat the origin of the planets as due to a huge tidal wave, generated in the sun by a passing star. Then the planets are described in some detail. Apparently the earth alone has what could be called a comfortable climate. The next five chapters are devoted to the fixed stars.

The whole system is held together by gravitation. Observing the motion of the stars permits in some cases calculations of their mass, observing their colors leads to an estimate of their surface temperatures; for the nearest stars the apparent size can be measured directly, which permits calculations of their distance; for stars further off indirect methods are used. The result shows that the mass of most of the stars is not very different from that of the sun, while their size varies considerably.

Chapters VI and VII take up the arrangement of the stars in space. The stars of the "galaxy" to which our sun belongs form a huge lens-like arrangement, of which the milky way forms the rim, and which is slowly rotating. As the centrifugal force of this rotation must be counterbalanced by the gravitational attraction of all the stars in the galaxy, it is possible to estimate their number to about one hundred thousand million or more. But our galaxy ("star-city") is not the only one, although the largest within sight. Others appear as "nebulae," faint patches of light, some of which can be seen by powerful telescopes to consist of stars, while others appear (and probably are) continuous, gaseous masses, which form probably the preliminary stage in the formation of "star-cities." Their different shapes favor this conclusion. There are about two million nebulae visible.

The eighth chapter discusses the question of the finiteness of the universe and the quite recent startling discovery (due to Lemaître at Louvain, Hubble and Tolman in California, the discussion of which constituted the main purpose of Einstein's recent visit in Pasadena) that the nebulae seem to be dispersing in space.

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Selected Poems of Vachel Lindsay; Modern Readers' Series.
New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

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What need is there to praise the poetry of Vachel Lindsay? Is he, as Yeats said, the most American of poets? At least he is the perfect voice of the prairie. His rhapsodic manner, his histrionics and mimicries, like those of a full-blooded, eueptic boy, his wordiness, his tumbling imagery, his swinging rhythms instinctively right, his sudden hushes, his tenderness, his sentimentality, his flute-notes and bird-notes—all these are of his native land, and of the texture of the minds of his people.

All the favorites are here: "The Congo"—which we are told he reads reluctantly now for the same reason that makes Rachmaninoff reluctant to play his famous "Prelude" and Paderewski reluctant to play his famous "Minuet"—"The Golden Whales of California," "The Chinese Nightingale," "The Kallyope Yell," "The Santa Fe Trail" (the poetry of America in a Ford), "The Fireman's Ball," "The Potatoes' Dance," "General William Booth Enters Heaven" and above all that inimitable, tear-drenched tribute to John P. Altgeld:

"Sleep softly . . . eagle forgotten . . . under the stone.

Time has its way with you there, and the clay has its own. . . ."

All—or almost all—of Vachel Lindsay in one little book for not much more than one dollar! What more is there to say?
SHAEMAS O'SHEEL.

Suffragettes

No Surrender, by Jo van Ammers-Küller; translated by W. D. Robson-Scott. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated. \$2.50.

"NO SURRENDER" is a continuation of Mrs. van Ammers-Küller's "The Rebel Generation" and like the earlier book concerns itself with woman's struggle for emancipation. Her heroine is Joyce, daughter of Louis Cornvelt, the Socialist, who had been something of a black sheep in this staid Dutch family. She comes from South Africa to live with her Aunt Clara in Leyden. This aunt is a genuinely charitable and well-meaning woman but she has little understanding of the young girl's shy, sensitive nature. She hopes to cure her abhorrence of misery by sending her on visits of mercy among the poor and the sick, but only succeeds in making Joyce cynical of human affection and a victim of her lifelong inferiority complex. Then an opportunity comes for her to go England, but this eagerly anticipated trip is filled with heartache and disillusion. Finally Joyce joins the suffragettes, and though she never has any real interest in the cause, she fights gallantly, giving up love for Tom Cornvelt, her English cousin, and even sacrificing her life.

Time has been none too kind to Mrs. Pankhurst and the suffragettes. Perhaps the war was a godsend for the cause of woman suffrage. And though Mrs. van Ammers-Küller deals with the movement in a sympathetic manner one feels that the tragic death of her heroine was unnecessary and that the author herself deemed the cause somewhat unworthy. Such struggles seem remote to us now, almost futile, and yet it is not altogether a matter of years. Probably woman suffrage means less to us on this side of the Atlantic, because after all suffrage has almost ceased to have a meaning in America.

Jo van Ammers-Küller writes with charming sincerity, never sacrificing plausibility for effect. Even little Joyce, pushed on by a fate stronger than herself, is plausible. She is always fair, if not always kind, to women; but she does score off the men. Her attack is all the more deadly because it is never obvious. Her men are never villains; they are selfish, arrogant and superior, or they are weak, the victims of passion. Even if, in youth, a man shows decided promise he has the most disconcerting habit of appearing in middle age quite changed or utterly impossible. All this of course relates to man's attitude to woman. Certainly sufficient reasons are supplied for woman's rebellion, but the irony of the situation is that now the struggle is over women are not satisfied with the existing order. A third volume of this same series will deal with that problem. We await the new book with interest, for what this Dutch author has to say is always worth while.

DORIS CUNNINGHAM.

Three-score Painters

Men of Art, by Thomas Craven. New York: Simon and Schuster. \$3.00.

MR. CRAVEN is so violent with a good many men and things in this book of combined biography and art criticism about some three-score of the world's most famous painters that he will perhaps not resent my being a little less than gentle with him. His ramming, slamming, slap-dash manner has its peculiar fascination. It represents no doubt a conscious effort to be mannish about a subject that Mr. Craven seems to suspect is considered effeminate. More particularly, it is no doubt an effort to give pretty well-worn subjects an appearance of freshness. For a random instance consider: "Goya of the bull-neck, the sensual lips and devastating eye; the father of some twenty legitimate children, sufficient evidence, I think, of the virility of the man of the soil which pallid duchesses preferred to the effete lechery of the aristocratic buzzards." There are perhaps relaxations from this manner but that gives a fair idea of the height of the tone. It is a sort of Sunday supplement virtuosity, particularly in the style of the Sunday supplement which is said to have the largest circulation in the United States.

If Ruskin may be described as an English draper's son awakening violently to the realization that there was art in the world, Mr. Craven may be described as a Kansan awakening with considerable startlement to this fact. Both these awakenings, with their train of answering cock-a-doodle-does, represent real gains. According to Tolstoi's theorem that the value of art may be measured by its common denominator, Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Craven have achieved high art. Both are readable. As for being reliable, scholars would differ on many points, but agree on one, that the extreme individuality of their statements makes them open to suspicion. The forty full-page illustrations bled-off the page in Mr. Craven's book, are as startling as the text and in like manner interesting.

FREDERIC THOMPSON.

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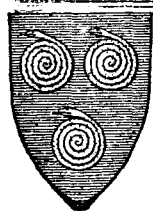
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Briefer Mention

Father, by Elizabeth. New York: Doubleday, Doran and
Company, Incorporated. \$2.50.

IT IS an original experience to be disappointed by "Elizabeth," and perhaps one should not hold it against an author who has so often given her readers original experiences of a happier kind. As far as its mere outline goes, "Father" is a worthy companion of "An Enchanted April" and "The Parson's Wife"; it has just that combination of the preposterous and the realistic which has enabled its author to clothe her exquisite nonsense in the recognizable, often the homely, and also has enabled her to refrain from pressing her sharpness to the point of seriousness or tragedy. Only, somehow, as a piece of writing, it does not come off. Jennifer, the thirty-odd-year-old English spinster who, making a dash for liberty upon the second marriage of her father, meets a complicating curate at the first turn of the road, and her rebellious young stepmother at the next, is sporadically amusing, and there are flashes of the old "Elizabeth" in phrases like: "Her delicious new relative, all eyelashes and alarm." But, generally speaking, the narrative does not skim and sparkle. It is not light-handed and limpid, but heavy with explanation and analysis; one would almost venture that it is tired. It never really gets going, and "Elizabeth" herself is to blame if we feel inordinately injured thereby.

Trott and His Little Sister, by André Lichtenberger; translated by Blanche and Irma Weill. New York: The Viking Press. \$2.50.

IT SEEMS a pity that the English translation of this thirty-year-old French classic could not have been retitled. The suggestion of a merely innocuous and sugary child-story is peculiarly inappropriate to a delicate and original study which combines serious and careful observation with its appreciative humor, and which stands up after three decades, its value and recognizable verity hardly at all impaired. It is true, as Dorothy Canfield Fisher admits in her enthusiastic preface, that there is sentimentality in these sketches of the daily life of a little French boy and the baby sister who displaces him as the ruling family monarch; but it is, happily, confined almost entirely to the grown-ups who form the book's necessary background. Left to himself and the tyrannical young Lucette (whom he is perplexed to find himself deeply fond of, in spite of her crimes against all the known laws of behavior) Trott becomes a living and lovable child, whose French decorum and grounding in good manners are no more than a quaint foil for his viability. The portrait of Lucette is even more remarkable. No more fearfully exacting, unscrupulous, irresistible infant has ever been confined within book covers—and no more pointed perception or charming gaiety have ever been encountered than Lichtenberger's in writing of her. The translation seems very well done.

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